THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

January 31, 1948

WHO'S SLANTING WHAT?

AN EDITORIAL

Britain Takes The Long Way

Walter Briggs

China's Forgotten Men

C. L. Ho

China Aid Versus Europe Aid

J. R. Kaim

CONTROL & CONFUSION

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 108 CNC$20,000 NUMBER 9

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B.F. Goodrich

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Camouflaged Bureaus

To The Editor:

I have a few words to say about the intrusion of bureaucracy into educational circles in this country. It is becoming painfully evident that the majority of the professors and deans of our universities and the principals of our schools are either feudal bureaucrats or modern bootlickers. Afflicted with the traditional superiority complex of Chinese officialdom, they behave as though they were genuine big mandarins and don't show the least interest in seeing that the system of officialdom is compatible with their institutions of learning. It is common knowledge that most of these so-called institutions of higher learning are nothing but camouflaged bureaus which serve no purpose other than the production of cheap diplomas.

How, and why, has this come to pass? Let us take a look at any branch of officialdom in China; let us make note of the fact that the most ignorant militarists and petty politicians are allowed to hold chancellorships, and it will not be difficult to realize why a large number of our professorships and other educational posts are held by incompetent and grasping people. The top-flight, respectable and honored intellectuals have too much self-respect to stoop to the flattery and hypocrisy which it is necessary to display in order to stay in office.

What is even more regrettable, however, is the fact that the bona fide scholar has little defense against the prejudices and jealousies of those who are supposed to guide and teach him. He can be dismissed or excluded arbitrarily and even the warm support of his fellow pupils can seldom help him.

The deterioration of education in this country has reached alarming proportions. The well-thinking, respectable scholars are having more and more difficulty in finding employment, and the minds of an increasing number of our youth are being moulded by the perverted conceptions of unqualified "big shots." These conceptions directly impinge upon our ideals of living, and we must recapture our dream of inalienable rights and restore our liberties in order that those ideals may not be permanently shattered.

EUGENE HWO.

Shanghai,
January 15, 1948.

So-Called Liberals

To The Editor:

Wrapping closely the cloak of democracy about themselves, and hoisting high the banners of "liberalism," a certain group in China are howling for a showdown in the present crisis and scurrying about to hasten this "national salvation." They denounce the government, its corrupt practices, and stage demonstrations and strikes throughout the country for "democracy" and against Civil War. Then, rather inconsistently it seems to me, they fight viciously with their own "democratic army" the National Government's troops.

There are others who are staying abroad, preaching their doctrines of "liberalism" and "democracy" and otherwise

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

J. B. Powell

(Editor & Publisher, 1918-1947)

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exerting themselves in various directions to clog the wheels of cooperation between China and other countries. These loom patriotic and liberal in the distance, but close-up most of them cut a pretty sorry figure. Let us take one of the loudest mouths of this group, a man who, gifted with hypocrisy and the talent of eloquence, has been for many years confusing the issue and bewildering the public. He pretends to read the Bible and, since he was once baptized, is now known as "The Christian General."

Having risen from the ranks, he received no regular education and is known to have lived a very simple life, often carrying this simplicity to extremes. Once, when his wife returned from Shanghai wearing a fur coat, he was so displeased that he took it from her and tore it to bits. But it is hard to see that this "simplicity" was a genuine thing, for later on during the war years his private automobile was found to be one of the most modern and luxurious that ever ran on Chungking streets. When he was sent abroad on his tours of investigation he managed to build himself a nice personal fortune, and now has one of the finest houses in Shanghai.

We all know that there are a great number of government officials who have amassed fortunes and are keeping them protected abroad. Their corruption has been laid bare and cannot, of course, be forgiven; but far more inexcusable should be the corruption of those who have so often denounced this sin in others, all the while being guilty of the same thing themselves.

There are many other two-faced liberals, a good portion of whom have taken refuge in the protected British Crown Colony. It is just this sort of Crown Colony they howl against and wish to see abolished, yet we see that they are not above availing themselves of its advantages. When the revolutionary wave ran high, these people were "revolutionaries;" during the Japanese invasion they fancied themselves as "spearheading" anti-Japanese movements; now they are climbing on the bandwagon and calling themselves "liberals." There are, of course, a number of real liberals in China, but, just as it cannot be denied that things in China are far from satisfactory, so it cannot be denied that many of the "liberals" are not real liberals. They may deceive the world at present, but they can never cheat history—and history will never forgive them. Never and never.

T. F. CHIN.

Nanking,
January 10, 1948.

Predictable Calamity

To The Editor:

Your *Review's* editorial of January 10 this year on "American Imperialism???" was both timely and peace-loving, and I feel duty bound to answer your call for opinions on same. Thus, I am going to shed both tears and light on the subject of American imperialism, which is not only pure and simple but is also accelerating itself by leaps and bounds—in spite of its many set-backs so far.

The dollars and arms so generously sent to Greece, Turkey and China have accomplished little for either the giver or the recipients. Instead, they have worsened the political and economic situations, as well as antagonized the peoples of all three of these countries, not to mention the creation of incessant opposition within America itself. Actually, the most tantalizing part of America's Dollar-and-Atomic foreign policy of domination of the world market at any cost is the fact that America has no actual territorial designs on anybody. She has been trying to push through her untenable foreign policy by various and devious high-sounding means, such as the Truman

Doctrine and the Marshall Economic Plan. All too sincerely, this is being done in the name of anti-communism and for reasons of furthering world peace and protecting human rights.

I agree most wholeheartedly with Leon Blum when he suggested that Britain, France, and other nations, including China, form a "third force of the world," which would stand between the USA and the USSR. Such a third force could fight both American "capitalism, expansion and inhumanity" and Russian "communism, imperialism and extinction of civic rights."

If America could successfully comprehend the historical fact that the Inquisition utterly failed to suppress Martin Luther's stand for Christianity, but instead made Christianity what it is today, then, and then only, could America's present foreign policy succeed. If she does not, what a predictable calamity to herself and to mankind!

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Chengtu, Szechuen,
January 17, 1948.

Imperialism ! ! !

To The Editor:

I would like to change the three interrogation marks after your interesting editorial "American Imperialism???" into three exclamation marks, i.e., "American Imperialism!!!"

Indeed it is sad for the peoples of both the US and China to recall how US soldiers and personnel were cordially welcomed by the Chinese people three years ago in Chungking and Kunming and how the feeling of the Chinese toward the United States has radically changed since the mediation of General Marshall in China's Civil War. The disclosure of the imperialistic, unilateral and aggressive nature of the US deeply disappointed the Chinese lao pai hsing.

Instead of helping China to build a democratic country and further its post-war reconstruction, Uncle Sam wants to maintain the pre-war status quo in China. He supports the present despotic, inefficient and corrupt regime through the camouflage of UNRRA relief supplies, by sending surplus goods, obsolete army equipment and munitions and military advisory and training bodies to China to check the ever-marching people's revolution. Thus it helps intensify and confuse the original Chinese problem.

Imperialism in the present US foreign policy conducted by the Truman administration is just as defined in Webster's dictionary quoted by you in your editorial. In one of your editorials published in the October 25, 1947, issue of the *Review*, you yourself reprinted the following words from *World Report* as a side picture of US foreign policy: "Americans are now taking responsibility for running many phases of Greek government...Greek trade with other countries is completely controlled by US advisers. Labor peace depends on the kind of wage formula the Americans recommend. Public works are authorized or disallowed according to the wishes of the Griswold Mission. Basic rations of food or consumer goods are controlled by US experts. The Greek budget for this year is being framed by Athens officials taking advice from Americans. Government spending is subject to a veto of the US Mission. A new tax system is being worked out on lines suggested by the Americans. The net result is that the US is in fact running the economy of Greece. By and large, Greek officials give full cooperation, but at times US advisers have to over-rule Greek ideas that do not fit with US plans." Are there any finer or more practical examples you can choose to describe "American Imperialism?"

The present Chinese government is just like the Greeks'. Both have waged a

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long-term Civil War and both are inefficient, corrupt and anti-Communist in nature. Despite the wide poverty of the country and the people, the high ranking officials of both nations all have a large number of private holdings in foreign countries, especially in the United States. The only difference between the two countries is that Greece has received more support and materials from America than has China.

However, it is an undeniable fact that the majority of the American people, as other peoples in the world, are innocent in this imperialistic policy of economic expansion. They have good will and wish to build up a sincere and intimate relationship with other peoples of the world. They are also victims of their imperialistic economic system. It is unfair to put the blame on their shoulders and ask them to take the full responsibility. The Chinese people, be they almost illiterate, can judge for themselves and not from the propaganda of either the Communists, Nationalists or Americans.

It is my cordial hope that one day when the American people have broken up the control of the "60 Families," and the Chinese are released from the iron fists, the peoples of both nations will have the true democracy of the 20th century. Then what a pleasure it will be for them to shake hands and congratulate each other and, standing together firmly in one line, with trust and confidence, build the newly liberated world into a united, peaceful and prosperous one.

E. H. Y.

Hangchow,
January 12, 1948.

Rotten Proposal

To The Editor:

When reading Mr. William H. Bullitt's article in the December 22 issue of *Life*, I am surprised to realize that he is helping the Chinese Communists rather than the Chinese National Government.

Mr. Bullitt told us that his proposal to aid China only means selling her those war materials now rusting and rotting in Okinawa, the Aleutians, Japan, Guam and the Philippines, which are useless to America and should be declassified.

Just imagine the Chinese National Army, equipped with rusting guns, rotting tanks and perhaps dead bullets, fighting with the Communists. What would be the result?

Mr. Bullitt is helping the Nationalist Army to lose, not to win, the war.

If his proposal is not intended to help the Communists, it is a rotten proposal.

K. Y. YEN.

Shanghai,
January 19, 1948.

America Blamed

To The Editor:

In the January 10 issue of the *Review*, there appears an editorial on "American Imperialism?", in which you seem to doubt that Americans are imperialists, as claimed by the Communist propaganda. Maybe Americans are misunderstood in some way. But it is still a fact that Americans are imperialists.

Just after World War II, we Chinese demanded that US troops should evacuate our territories immediately. The US government gave no ear to our voice; on the contrary, it made various excuses to delay the withdrawal of its troops. We also stated that we need no help from America as long as the Civil War goes on, for whatever help comes is only used for the war. But you Americans continue to pour onto China's soil your "help" which your "good-wishers" in China claimed is designed for China's rehabilitation and reconstruction. If no aid had come from America, our Civil War would not have lasted for more than two years.

If you Americans had meant to come to China's salvation, what do your abovementioned actions mean? Your words and deeds are contradictory; you say this, you do that. You drive the Chinese people to fight Communism for your cause; the Red scare has caught you. The average Chinese has no objection to, or preference for, any political doctrine. What he takes into consideration is that the governmental machine should not be corrupt and that his four freedoms should not be violated as is happening today.

America has declared that she will not interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries and will respect their sovereignty. If she had kept her word and not taken part in our domestic affairs, the resolutions of the Political Consultative Council would not have been torn up and our Civil War would not have become so large in scale.

If Americans wish to be understood properly, they should urge their government to change its foreign policy toward China, and adopt immediate steps to stop any prospective aid to China until peace is restored in China.

A PEACE-HUNGRY CITIZEN.

Kunming,
January 16, 1948.

Education In China

To The Editor:

News of the Ministry of Education seeking to distribute its "Youth Army" among our various colleges and universities without previously taking the entrance examinations, and the ensuing opposition which was raised have both made the headlines in many papers recently.

No one can deny the facts, stated in the daily papers, concerning the moral degradation, corruption of officials, and economic emergency now prevalent. Nor can one fail to be impressed by the sight of hundreds of thousands suffering under conditions brought on by Civil War and famine. The fact that many students and professors who opposed the war have been either imprisoned or executed has struck most of us as something outrageous. Whenever I recall such happenings a chill runs down my spine. What if my relatives or myself had been condemned to such a fate? "I choose words carefully in talking about political affairs for I dare not express my true opinion," is a familiar satirical phrase.

We are fully in accord with the principle that there is a close relationship between higher education and the welfare of the nation. Why then should we have opposed the enrolment of many

who have offered themselves to the service of their country?

Although we could not give the members of the Youth Army any entrance examination we did give them, for the sake of maintaining a semblance of efficiency, examinations of differentiation. Since they were admitted through the influence of the highest authorities, we rejoiced at their good fortune; when they were unable to keep up with the class, we sympathized with them; but because they have always attempted to violate the rules and create disturbances, we have come to hate them.

I personally know of a group in our college who banded together and refused to take the classifying examination which is required of all freshmen. Instead, they stated, "We, the 'Youth Army,' have been sent here by the Ministry of Education!" The school administrators were at a loss as to how to deal with them and the whole situation became tense. Upon examining their backgrounds it was discovered that one-third had not graduated from senior middle school or normal school, one-third had never learned English and some of them could not even write a complete composition in Chinese. Despite all this, they were to be permitted to breathe the scholarly air of a university and be honored with a B.A. degree.

A professor, one night, came to my study and told me with great reluctance that there were many such students who had taken his course and failed it with a grade of "Zero." But they continuously bothered him to give them a "passing" grade. He remarked with a sigh, "This is the first time in my life that I have had to teach students like this. And it is a symbol of the future of higher education in China today." He lit a cigarette and added, "One student who was an honest boy and studied diligently committed suicide because he failed to pass half of the required courses last term."

When I recall incidents such as these I become sick at heart, and can not refrain from thinking that higher education is at present being used for the murder of Chinese youth!

No matter what happens to my comrades and myself we must reject this system, whereby students are chosen by the authorities. We must maintain the honor and purity of our universities. We must struggle for liberty of learning and expression.

D. W. TSANG.

Nanyo, Hunan,
January 6, 1948.

English Student

To The Editor:

It is common knowledge that the English language nowadays is widely used throughout the world. To master English is, therefore, necessary to everyone, especially to the students who wish to acquire more knowledge and who will play an important role in the future of both their own country and the world at large. But because of the Civil War, many Chinese are finding life hard in this wretched land. Because of poverty, the majority of China's young generation are being expelled from school, and those who are studying in school are in the constant fear of the ever-increasing fees, for which many fathers have fallen into debt.

As a result, many students have become indifferent to current events and frown on their monotonous English textbooks. Though they have spent six years or more studying English in middle school, they can hardly write a short English composition correctly. It is even more difficult for them to converse with any English or American with whom they happen to come in contact. This deplorable fact is partly due to the low standard of the small number of English teachers, and partly because of the students' lack of outside English reading.

With this view in mind, the writer, who is now a second grade student at the senior middle school of Chung Cheng Middle School in Sian, heartily suggests: (1) That the middle school authorities should at least subscribe to some English periodicals both at home and abroad, purchase some instructive, interesting, and practical English pamphlets, and frequently hold all kinds of English competitions, so as to arouse the students' interest in English; (2) That American and English friends living in China should help those who want to learn English; (3) That students throughout China should practice their English through their pen-friends (Americans or English people will be welcomed as pen-friends); (4) That students should exchange their respective English books or magazines among themselves.

Finally, would you kindly introduce me to some American or English person living in Sian. I am very anxious to raise my English standard and do more for tomorrow's world.

My address is:

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Sian, Shensi,
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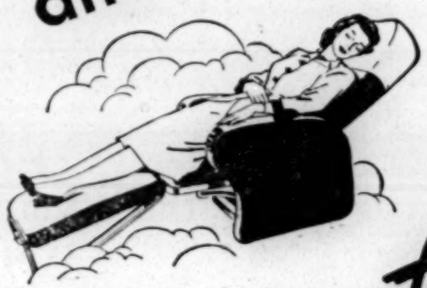

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Surveying Suffers

To The Editor:

Surveying is one of the applied sciences. In China it is still in its infancy, though it started as early as 40 years ago. Because of unrest and uneasiness prevailing everywhere in China for the past 40 years, the development of surveying, like every well-planned and far-reaching scientific program, has been in a state of paralysis.

After World War I, every country began to worry about its own affairs. If China had taken the opportunity at that time to rehabilitate and strengthen itself, it would have laid a firm foundation for industrializing our country. But, we did not grasp it and remained idle, doing nothing about it.

Just after World War II, we were so optimistic as to think that we would now have the opportunity to reconstruct our country. But again it is a fruitless dream. The Civil War broke out openly right after VJ Day. Money, which might have been used to develop various scientific research institutions, is being spent to fill the bottomless reservoir of war, while all the important enterprises are compelled to stop or carry on haphazardly. The work of surveying is no exception. It has not received any attention from the government authorities. The existence of the Bureau of Survey, which is supposed to be responsible for reforming and cooperating with the military services, is in name only. Its progress not only lags far behind that of foreign nations, but it is not even in a position to catch up with the standard of India in this field.

Today is the 44th anniversary of the foundation of our college. We don't feel proud of its long history and its past brilliant achievements. We are rather dissatisfied with its present situation. We need more laboratory equipment to facilitate our experimental work; we need more reference books to meet our needs in advanced studies; we need more qualified professors and competent scholars to give instruction. We hope that a Graduate Research School will be established soon and that well-known foreign scholars and technicians will be invited. All these suggestions should be considered seriously and favorably by the Ministry of National Defence.

SUN YEN-HU.

Soochow,
January 15, 1948.

Important Notice

IN view of the fact that we have been receiving a great number of unsigned letters and announcements from students and student groups during the past few weeks, we wish to draw the attention of our readers to the following notice which the *Review* has been in the habit of printing in these pages from time to time:

The *China Weekly Review* will not publish anonymous letters in these columns. Every letter intended for publication must bear the writer's NAME and ADDRESS, for the information of the editors. **In cases of group petitions, statements or announcements, the letter must be signed by a responsible official or delegate, likewise for the information of the *Review*.** If it is specially pointed out that the author wishes to have his letter published under an assumed name, or his initials, this will be complied with, and his identity will not be divulged. However, in all instances the *Review* must be aware of the identity of the writer if he expects to see his communication appearing in these columns.—Editor.

The Warm Hearts

To The Editor:

Everyone must be moved at the sight of many destitute refugees wandering in the streets these biting wintry mornings. Because of the Civil War and the soaring of commodity prices, there are a good number of these people in Nanchang.

The Kiangsi Winter Relief Committee is reported to have been organizing for several months to relieve these poor refugees. It held meetings repeatedly, mapped out relief plans, raised funds, and so on, but it has not done much so far. Up to now it has only collected CNC-$100,000,000—too small an amount for its original relief plans.

In order to do some real relief work, the students' association of the National Chung Cheng University launched a "feed the hungry and clothe the cold" campaign, which was enthusiastically received by the local college students. On January 10, more than 400 students of this university motored to the city, and were divided into 15 groups. They posted up colored slogans on the street walls, made inspirational speeches to the public and collected money and old clothes from the passers-by, shops and banks. On that day, CNC$200,000,000 in cash, about 500 pieces of old clothes, shoes, oil, salt, etc. were raised—an unexpectedly great success. This charity movement is still going on in the school.

The spirit of the students engaged in this social work has made the government authorities who are in charge of this affair feel rather ashamed. Meantime the poor are finding out that there are still some warm hearts in the present world.

CHENG YUN-SHENG.

Nanchang, Kiangsi,
January 11, 1948.

Goodbye Again

To The Editor:

For the past three months I have been able to read the *Review*, through the kindness of another of your subscribers. Now I have been informed that my subscription is about to expire once again. I am still confined to my bed and my economic condition remains hopeless, therefore, I am forced to say goodbye again.

However, I wish to express my sincere respect for your impartiality and righteousness and my thanks for your kindness in endeavoring to help your poor readers, including myself.

S. Y. Y.

Tanyang, Kiangsu,
January 18, 1948.

(We have pleasure in extending S.Y.Y.'s subscription to the REVIEW for a further three months through the kindness of an American subscriber.—EDITOR.)

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Vol. 108 Shanghai, Saturday, January 31, 1948 No. 9

Nanking's Good Men

MUCH that is written about China today, in this magazine and other publications, contains broad criticisms of the Nanking government on various issues. We believe that most of these criticisms are basically correct and will be so judged by history. But they are unfortunately hard on the reputations of many individual men.

How this comes about is natural and understandable. China is a huge country, possibly with more facets than any in the world. Those who write about it, especially if they are doing so for foreign newspapers and magazines, have very limited space at their disposal. In this space they must describe the overall conditions as they see it, not spending time on details unless these make the picture as a whole more vivid.

Say a man is telling a story of something that happened in a pine forest. He may start by saying: "There I was in a pine forest, with darkness coming on and a mournful wind whistling through the trees." Or he may start: "There I was in a forest that seemed to be about 95 percent pine, with the remaining five percent made up of birch, oak and walnut trees; in fact there may also have been a few hickories." The first man has used less space and has given his readers a good idea of the setting. The second has led them off the track with a painstaking analysis that will have little to do with what follows. He has literally gotten them into a state where they can't see the woods for the trees.

* * *

WE believe that the Chinese Government has working for it some of the best trained, and some of the most idealistic, civil servants that can be found anywhere in the world. They exist on all levels, though of course the most striking cases are near the top. We shall name a few examples below, pointing out that the list is by no means complete and probably leaves some even finer men out. We don't claim that anyone on our list is perfect. Each has been criticized for one fault or another in the past, but we believe their over-all records are good.

General Yu Ta-wei, as far as we can tell, has run the Ministry of Communications most effectively since 1946. During that time he has faced tremendous obstacles. His railroads have been torn up by the Communists. In some periods the rates for his various services have been kept down to a fraction of the costs by Government price-control policies. Heavy war damage has had to be repaired on the Canton-Hankow railway, the railway down the west coast of Formosa and others. Airlines and railways generally have had to be kept going with a minimum of replacement parts. We think these problems have been met in a way of which any country can be proud. Thousands of other men in the Ministry of Communications must share in the credit for this, but we believe the whole result would not have been possible without Minister Yu on the job.

So far as the record shows, General Chang Chih-chung has handled the difficult Sinkiang problem with great statesmanship. We believe he has generally gone as far toward solving the Ili problem peacefully as Nanking would let him. He has won powerful elements in Sinkiang — the Kazakhs, for instance—over to his side. He has done what he could to strengthen the economic ties between Sinkiang and China proper. We believe he is a man who understands the times and understands the region he is dealing with.

Dr. Wong Wen-hao, we have always heard, is a brilliant scientist and a man of high intelligence and principles. He knows a great deal about China's resources, and has advanced ideas about how to organize them. During and since the war he has been an ornament of the Government in Chungking and Nanking.

Secretary Shao Li-tze is generally believed to have followed his conscience with no deviation during a time when most high officials have been making compromises of one sort or another. So far as we know he has never gone back on his resolve that the Communist problem must not be settled by force. We have also heard that he humiliated himself and risked his position in order to prevent a real blood bath during the Nanking student demonstrations of last May.

We believe Mayor K. C. Wu is an able man, devoted to his job. We are amazed at the way he can bind together the diverse and hostile elements of Shanghai and keep the city going from month to month.

We believe General Sun Li-jen is a fine commander of troops. We think he made the New First Army into an effective modern striking force. We think a large element in that feat was his real feeling for the welfare of his men, and his real understanding of offensive warfare.

There is no need to stretch this list out any longer. There are unquestionably many fine men high in the Government.

* * *

NOW let us repeat some stories we have just been told by a traveler returning from the neighborhood of Loyang.

The recent threat to Loyang was very severe, this man says. At one time the Communists were in the outskirts of the town, and nobody could say they wouldn't enter. A commander of the defending Nationalist troops was desperate. In his last extremity he turned to the civil official in charge and demanded that thousands of sandbags be brought to build fortifications. The civil official replied that this was impossible—neither the sand,

A WASHINGTON "PREVIEW OF 1948"

I'M MORE ANTI-COMMUNIST -THAN EVERYBODY ELSE IN THE WHOLE WORLD ALL PUT TOGETHER
THAT'S WHAT!
I'M A HUNDRED TRILLION TIMES MORE ANTI-COMMUNIST THAN ANYBODY!
SO THERE! TOO!

Herblock in The Washington Post

the bags, the labor nor the time was available. There was considerable raging and storming, but the official remained firm, perhaps because there was nothing else he could do. Finally the commander said: "Well, go levy the money for the sandbags anyway."

Our friend disparages Government reports that Nationalist *min tuan*, or people's militia, have done great work in defending towns in western Honan. (The theory of people's militia is that they will continue to live in their homes, working and feeding their families, and fighting only when necessary.) In fact, according to our friend, it is almost impossible to get anyone to join the *min tuan*. The reason for this is that farmers do not dare have guns issued to them, which of course is a basic step in joining up. They are afraid that if a man has a gun in his hand he will be conscripted into some passing Nationalist army. It is very hard to get them to join even on the guarantee of a *chuan yuan*, or special administrative officer, that this won't happen. The farmers apparently doubt that even a *chuan yuan* can interfere with the army's will.

Finally, our friend reports that the Lunghai railway in West Honan is almost inoperative, but not entirely because of Communist destruction. He says that a big concentraton of rolling stock —70 locomotives and 400 cars—has been collected between Loyang and Kaifeng, where it is being used as living quarters for Nationalist army men and their wives, etc. (This reminds us of a similar story told about Manchuria last spring. Freight trains were dispatched from Tientsin to Mukden carrying urgently needed supplies there. When they arrived they were unloaded and turned into residences by the army. This went on until a huge amount of rolling stock had been accumulated in Manchurian army bungalow colonies. A situation then arose where the Manchurian command was sending desperate messages to Tientsin for more supplies, and where Tientsin had no freight-cars left to send them up in.)

These stories probably won't surprise any of our readers. They are typical of those told by many people who have observed the army in the field.

* * *

NOW we want to ask: what can good men like Messrs. Yu, Chang, Wong, Shao, Wu and Sun do about this. Perhaps the answer is nothing, or they would have done it already. Perhaps they are in a pine forest with darkness coming on. In the gloom the hasty traveler makes few distinctions between them and the general ensemble.

Who's Slanting What?

THE news that the House and Senate have acted favorably on the Mundt bill, authorizing the establishment of an Office of International Information and Educational Exchange under the Department of State, should please our friends at the United States Information Service who have been operating under a handicap since last summer's heavy budget cut. We regarded that reduction in funds as a mistake at the time. It is encouraging that Congress is at last recognizing the importance of informational and cultural ties with other countries.

The Mundt bill was passed in spite of the unfavorable publicity USIS has been receiving at the hands of *Time* Magazine and the Scripps-Howard papers, who charge that the government information service is slanting its news to China. That *Time* should accuse anyone of slanting news is in itself somewhat of an anomaly. However, overlooking the very evident bias in the China coverage of *Time* and Scripps-Howard, we asked USIS for its side of the story and obtained the following information.

Time based its charge on the allegation that USIS, in covering the Congressional hearings on aid to China, gave "a fat 68" lines to the testimony of Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Thorp of the State Department and only "a niggling 17 lines" to General Wedemeyer, who advocated immediate aid and opposed the Department's more cautious approach. USIS points out that its story also included portions of testimony made by Alfred Kohlberg, who represented the China Policy Association, Mr. Bullitt, Representative Judd and Senator Bridges, all of whom sided with Wedemeyer's views. This fact, which *Time* neglected to report, makes the USIS story far less "slanted" than *Time* would have i's readers believe.

Time also lodged a complaint over the American editorial comment on China which USIS has been relaying in its news service, saying that the selection of editorials was weighted against aid to China. "Of 66 US editorials on China which

were distributed by USIS (since July)," said *Time*, "59 were anti-Chiang and anti-US aid."

* * *

ACCORDING to USIS figuring, 98 editorials on China from 32 newspapers have been distributed since July. The largest category, 577 lines, advocated some form of conditional aid to China—that is, aid at a future date predicated on certain reforms by the Chinese Government and/or stated conditions of control to see that the funds would not be misused. The second largest category, 352 lines, represented "neutral" comment—editorials which voiced no clear-cut opinion and merely weighed the various factors or asked for further information, such as publication of the Wedemeyer report. Third in number of lines were editorials opposing any form of aid to China, 204 lines. The smallest group, 107 lines, advocated immediate and unconditional aid.

Thus, if USIS figures are to be accepted, editorials voicing extreme points of view were in the minority. We have no way of gauging accurately the tenor of the American press on the subject of aid to China, but certainly indications are that the line taken by *Time* and the Scripps-Howard papers, however shrill and vocal, is not in the majority. Press reports from America quoted the State Department official in charge of the USIS news service as saying that editorials were running about eight to one against unconditional aid to China. USIS thus appears to be distributing a fairly accurate representation of American editorial opinion on this subject, and in so doing, giving people in China an indication of the trend of American public opinion.

At any rate, if the purpose of the *Time*-Scripps-Howard attack at this particular time was to hamstring USIS enabling legislation, it did not succeed. Whether it will have the effect of pressuring USIS into a modification of its editorial policy remains to be seen. We hope not. If axes are to be ground, there are plenty of journals of opinion, such as *Time*, to grind them.

Control & Confusion

A couple of weeks ago the local Chinese press reported that the Executive Yuan in a circular order had instructed the various provincial and municipal governments not to apply to President Chiang Kai-shek for instructions unless absolutely necessary. It is stressed that the President is pretty busy, attending to State affairs and should not be bothered with matters of minor importance or trivial details of a local character.

It is disclosed in the order that a police commissioner once bypassed his immediate superiors and addressed a petition direct to President Chiang for his "personal instruction." But the matter was referred by the President to the Executive Yuan for action. This kind of practice resulted in a deplorable waste of time and involved much delay in action, the order pointed out.

This is the first time that this bad and harmful practice in Chinese politics has been openly admitted by the Government authorities themselves, although the evil has long been patent to competent political observers.

It has been evident ever since the Sino-Japanese War that the Chinese Government has been consistently and vigorously pursuing a policy of concentrating the power in the hands of the National Government. We still remember some amusing episodes in this respect. Back in the war years, the Chinese press and publications were strictly censored. There was a long list of "blacklisted" words and terms which newspaper editors and writers should not use if they did not want to get into trouble. For instance, the Sino-Japanese War must be referred to as a "war of resistance" and not as a "war of national liberation." The reason advanced was that all talk about "national liberation of the oppressed peoples" was a Communist cliche. Likewise, any mention or discussion of "local autonomy" or "self-government" was frowned upon because it smelled of national disunion and was under suspicion of helping the enemy by driving a wedge between the national and local governments.

* * *

THE need for national unity and for a greater centralization of authority in times of war can easily be understood. When a nation is engaged in a life-and-death struggle for its very existence, it is not only highly desirable but also absolutely necessary that the people, regardless of their political affiliations, should unite and fight as one man under a unified and capable leadership. Any internal dissension or squabble would lead to a disastrous weakening of the war effort, possibly to national catastrophe. It is a case of "united we stand; divided we fall."

But war-time centralism in China has given rise to a lot of trouble. In Western democracies, their governments are well-organized, with a clearly-defined division of power, and everything must be done according to law. Therefore centralism does not mean that the power becomes centralized in the hands of the President, or the Prime Minister, as the case may be, because theirs is a collective governing body.

But the situation in China is vastly different. For one thing, China is not a long-established democracy. Neither the government officials nor the people are used to the democratic way of life. For another, in Chinese politics, the human factor is much more important and powerful than the government system itself. Such being the case, it is not to be wondered at that centralism in China should have shifted much of the responsibility for important decisions onto the shoulders of President Chiang Kai-shek.

It has been a matter of common knowledge for years that the President has been leading an extremely busy life, not only directing the National Government and its various ministries and commissions, but also receiving first-hand reports from the provincial and municipal government heads and issuing "autographic orders" to them. There has been a growing tendency among top-ranking Chinese government officials to bypass their immediate superiors and appeal direct to President Chiang for personal instructions. Many officials seem to think that this is the best

way to get things done, because the established procedure for doing things involves delay and a lot of red tape.

* * *

HOWEVER, it must be said that this way of running state affairs has done more harm than good. On certain occasions it has produced utter confusion and embarrassment. It has sometimes happened that different officials have received different instructions and jealousy and squabbles have ensued.

The policy of too much centralism has come home to roost. After long years of taking orders from Nanking without doing much thinking themselves, the provincial and municipal government authorities have lost much of their initiative and their sense of responsibility. They simply cannot make any momentous decisions or take important action without obtaining previous approval from the National Government. The recent highly successful raids conducted by the Chinese Communists in various provinces of the Yangtze Valley, have fully demonstrated the inability of the local governments to deal with any emergency situation.

The National Government has been roundly criticized in recent years for its administrative inefficiency. There may be a great variety of reasons for the present highly unsatisfactory state of government efficiency in China. However, we should think that the loss of initiative and sense of responsibility on the part of the local government authorities is the most important of all.

The time has now come for a review of the whole situation. Unless some drastic revision is made in time, it is feared that it will be utterly impossible to increase efficiency or expect the provincial and municipal governments to cope with the present unprecedented "crisis."

Herblock in The Washington Post

"Would you like to see something in a larger book?"

The November Export Riddle

THAT CHINA'S foreign trade balance should be unfavorable seems to be a postulate. No sooner had the customs published their Trade Returns for November, 1947, than certain groups in this city declared their skepticism over the Statistical Bureau's calculating machines. The records, indeed, showed tremendous export increases. They indicated a growing interest abroad in Chinese products, and manifested that new markets had been conquered. So strangely did the Customs figures compare with what had generally been expected, that quite a few businessmen had their doubts as to the authenticity of such excellent results.

Privately, businessmen pointed out that the figures may have been fabricated. Publicly, others expressed their conviction that the bulk of such shipments was probably carried out by government-controlled agencies, and as one merchant was quoted to have stated: "Government-controlled business is not business in the proper sense of the word".

Frankly, we are in no position to share either viewpoint. We do believe that for many firms, business in November was not good at all. But we also know that some have been able to export more than ever since the war.

Above all, we think that even government-controlled business can be regarded as legitimate business. In many cases producers have sold to government agencies under conditions similar to those applied to private buyers, and from the standpoint of the much desired foreign trade balance, it certainly does not matter whether exports are carried out by private or semi-official concerns. The chief point is whether or not foreign exchange has been obtained. Therefore, the only important question as to the much discussed November exports, is for what percentage of the recorded cargoes, did the Central Bank actually receive counter-value in dollars, pounds or francs.

Some time ago, the Central Trust, largest of the Government concerns, admitted that for certain textile shipments it could get no actual payment, and indications are that other cargoes, too, have not been marketed on a cash-and-carry basis. But we do not doubt that most government exports have been paid for in good foreign exchange.

The critics and skeptics have no doubt that Government agencies were allowed to export. What they fail to believe is that private business also shared the pleasure.

In this respect it was easy to find out that many direct shipments have been made by both exporters and manufacturers. We are pretty sure that merchants who "admit" to having exported, have done so quite legally. But if they have had a hand in some illegal transactions also, they certainly would not have told us about them.

Even without any inquiries, however, one may assume that legal private exports during November last realized substantial gains. From a perusal of the Customs statistics it is obvious that, compared with October, exports increased enormously, even in lines not handled by semi-official concerns.

In other words, there are quite a few indications that the statistics are "genuine".

That not all the amounts recorded were received in foreign exchange, we take for granted, just as we assume that no government-controlled concern would have shipped, without actual payment, any commodity of which world markets are short. A great portion of the tea shipped to the eastern hemisphere was paid for in unmistakable American dollars.

Commenting on the favorable November records, one local businessman, as quoted by an English-language daily, claimed that "anyone abroad seeing these figures must come to the conclusion that the jeremiad of merchants in China, about the impossibility of conducting an import or export business is just moonshine...."

We certainly don't want to be rude. But when a businessman speaks of the impossibility of carrying on an import or export business, one wonders how he has been able to exist for so long in China. We very well remember an American visitor's astonished expression when, upon asking how many well-known firms had been obliged to close down in 1947, he was told: "None, neither Chinese nor foreign."

"Do they live on their losses? Or are they all smugglers?" he asked.

We know very well that they are not "all smugglers," although it is common knowledge that a considerable amount of smuggling has been going on. The chief reason for this, we have been told, is because official rates of exchange make legitimate exporting virtually impossible, whereas at black market rates it can be very profitable. Was not the difference between the official and black market rates in November last far smaller than, say, at the beginning of January? And may not that have been one of the reasons why November export returns were better than anticipated?

But if that was the reason, traders would be aware of it. They would not have expressed such astonishment. They would not hint at the possibility that the returns were fabricated, with a view to showing the USA that, incredible as it might seem, China's foreign trade is nearly balanced.

We have been told that there is a tremendous difference between the loading statistics of local agencies of foreign shipping companies and the Government's customs' statistics for November. Which are correct, we cannot know. But the whole "export riddle" could be brought to an early solution, and all rumors terminated, if the Central Bank would decide to announce the total amounts of foreign currency derived from November's exports, and what percentage of those amounts came from official and semi-official exports.

25 Years Ago In The *Weekly Review Of The Far East*

One Of Many Problems

January 27, 1923.

THE financial situation is the most serious of the many problems confronting China, and China could improve her position immeasurably by frankly recognizing the seriousness of the situation and facing the facts. China needs outside help in solving this problem and no one recognizes this more than the thinking Chinese themselves, both inside and outside of the government. When the great resources and population of China are considered, the national debt of the country is infinitesimal when compared with the condition of most of the countries of Europe, but when matters are permitted to drift, China's position constantly becomes weaker from the standpoint of negotiating with outside powers.

* * *

Pity The Post Office

EVERY lost, delayed or missing letter handled by the Chinese post office now brings a new outburst of harsh criticism against the Chinese as postmen. There are post office patrons aplenty who were just lying in wait for opportunities to find fault, and now, when they do not receive a piece of a mail as soon as they think they should, or when they receive a parcel or paper intended for some other person, they revel in saying, "I told you so." Foreigners might as well accept the fact that foreign postal agencies are gone, and that their mails are going to be handled by the Chinese post office...Among those loudest in criticism in speech and in the press are nationals from a country whose postal service for years has been notoriously inefficient. Possibly, they feel called upon to try to prove that the Chinese service is as poor as that in their own country.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Fish In The Sea

January 29, 1938.

"CHIANG Kai-shek once gave a good description of our Red Army strategy which might well be quoted here. He said: 'When the Reds move in their own Soviet districts, they are like fish in the sea; we can't find them. When they move outside, they are as elusive as a bird in the forest.' The Kuomintang armies found it impossible to do anything in the Soviet areas while they remained Soviet. It was no man's land for them...The Japanese position is much more difficult than that of Chiang Kai-shek. We can utilize all our 10 years' experience together to fight the Japanese, and victory is sure. Now, we Chinese have a 'sea' of 400,000,000, and a 'fish' of 3,000,000 soldiers in it. The enemy can only send two to five hundred thousand troops against us. Of course, we can win..." (P'eng Teh-huai).

* * *

Japan "Misunderstood"

REPLYING to interpellations, Premier Konoye continued: "We have often announced that Japan respects the rights and interests of foreign countries in China." He added the usual palaver to the effect that there has, until today, been much misunderstanding on the part of foreign powers, regarding the position and policies of Japan in the Far East, saying, "Japan has not the slightest intention of conquering China and of closing the door of China to foreign countries. Access by foreign powers to interests in China should be kept open and I feel that foreign investments are absolutely necessary to promote the utilization of land in China."

China's College Professors--The Forgotten Men

C. L. Ho

THE other day I had the pleasure of meeting a distinguished gathering of Chinese professors. We were talking about the prospects for American aid to China and the recent developments in the military situation, when an American-educated professor of political science cut in, saying, "I am simply fed up with all this empty talk about politics and war. I wish to God that I had not studied politics when I was in the States. With all my political knowledge and education, I am not ashamed to admit that I am really at a loss as to what kind of politics we have in this country. Now you boys stop your discussion of political and military affairs and let's have a serious talk about our living conditions.

"Ever since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War I have not been able to buy a new suit or any new books from the States. My eldest son had to quit school last term simply because I had no money to pay his tuition fee. I have been teaching the children of others for almost 10 years, yet the reward for my labor is my son's being barred from school. What's the meaning of it, anyway?"

This professor's diversion changed our topic of conversation and pretty soon we settled down to the brass tacks of the terrible plight of college professors.

"Good Old Days"

As the result of mounting commodity prices, China's college professors are now finding it more and more difficult to maintain even their minimum living standard. Back in the "good old days" of the pre-war years, the teaching profession was not a bad one. College professors led a decent and fairly comfortable life. They belonged to the well-to-do middle classes.

Before the war, those who worked with their brains were better paid than those who toiled with their hands. College professors and other members of the white-collar class

SHANGHAI HOUSING SHORTAGE

—From Hsin Yah Pao

usually earned three or four times more than did the average working man. And the man in the street held professors and school teachers in high esteem, because in Chinese history the teaching profession was a highly respectable one and teachers were considered as ranking on an equal footing with "God, the Emperor and parents". Although the school teachers might not have been financially prosperous, yet they were supposed to be people of high social standing.

However, a profound change took place in the life of the people of different social strata during the war years. The most striking thing about it was that manual labor paid better than brain work. It was a standing joke, but nonetheless a fact, that during the war a sedan-chair carrier in Chungking earned more money than a college professor. Some professors said half in jest and half in earnest: "So this is dignity of labor! Would that I could cast off my long gown and don overalls."

Heavier Hardships

There has not been the slightest improvement in the situation since VJ Day. On the contrary, the sufferings and hardships, both material and spiritual, of the Chinese professors have become much heavier and more intolerable than ever before. During the war years, the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, fired with a lofty patriotic fervor, were perfectly willing to tighten their belts and make any sacrifices to help the war effort. At that time every Chinese had hopes for the future. They were convinced that the harder they worked the earlier the war would be won. And once hostilities were ended, everything would turn out all right. Each had his plan, or rather dream, for the post-war period, believing that he need wait only till the war was over before the plan could be put into operation. In wartime, the Chinese people did not care much about sufferings as long as they had faith in China's ability to pull through and win the final victory.

More Destructive

Following the conclusion of the war with the Japs, the Civil War again broke out and is still going on. And it happens that this internal fighting has been more destructive and more bloody than the Sino-Japanese War. The situation now-

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adays is so chaotic and so gloomy that no one seems to know when the internecine warfare between the Nationalists and the Chinese Communsts will be over. With their hopes for a better life in the post-war period dashed to the ground, the Chinese people, facing as they do a ruthless Civil War that might drag on for years, have lost the material and spiritual staying power that they possessed during the Sino-Japanese War. And this is one reason why there has been quite a lot of murmuring and complaint against living conditions. After all, it is only human nature that man should want to lead a better life.

Ever since VJ Day, the condition of China's professors have gone from bad to worse. The plight of college professors in North China is particularly intolerable.

Some time ago, the faculty of the National Northeastern University at Mukden issued a public statement, which gave a vivid picture of the hard life of the professors. We cannot do better than quote several important passages from it:

"We are facing starvation and bitter cold. People in the South may not believe our story. But let us state some irrefutable facts. In Mukden, kaoliang has risen from the prewar price of CNC$0.05 a catty to CNC$48,000 at present; rice from CNC$0.10 to CNC$69,000 a catty. Pork is now being sold at CNC$86,250 a catty and cooking oil at CNC$103,500 a catty . . . In short, commodity prices in Mukden are now four or five times higher than in Peiping or Tientsin and six or seven times higher than in Nanking and Shanghai.

"Despite bitter cold, the families of many faculty members of our university are living on two meals of kaoliang a day. Others are eating bean cakes with cabbage. Still others are eating only one meal in several days."

Northeast Conditions

The plight of the professors of the National Northeastern University has probably been made more serious because of the military situation there. But so far, the Ministry of Education has done nothing about it.

EAT AT

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The faculty of the National Shansi University went on strike on December 1, 1947, to protest their unfair treatment. It was said that during the past two months the price of wheat flour in Taiyuan has increased from CNC$300,000 to CNC$1,100,000 per gunny. The striking professors, in a statement issued before the strike, complained that: "College professors in Peiping and Tientsin are given cheap whaet flour and other daily necessities by the Government. Yet, we in Taiyuan, living under the highest cost of living, get no subsidy whatever from the Government. Our salaries cannot support a family of three. We have appealed to the Executive Yuan and to the Ministry of Education for fair treatment, but so far nothing has come of it. Not even acknowledgment has been received. Now we are facing starvation. We have decided to walk out as of December 1, 1947. We are reluctant to take such action, but there is no other alternative open to us."

Colleges in Peiping and Tientsin are reported to have asked the Ministry of Education to increase their expenditures by 300 percent beginning January, 1948. It is also reported in the press that approximately 10 percent of the students of the various national universities in Peiping have been forced to quit school for financial reasons. According to the Peiping correspondent of the *Ta Kung Pao*, Dr. Hu Shih said that he had great difficulty in supporting his family, and that while his wife was kind enough to prepare rice for him, the other members of his family ate only miscellaneous grain.

The terrible plight of college professors is not limited to North China. The students of the National Wuhu University have called a strike because they cannot exist under present circumstances. It is reported that the faculty of that university also has asked their president to make an urgent appeal to the Ministry of Education for immediate relief as they are finding it utterly impossible to continue any longer.

As these facts testify, the dilemma now facing China's college professors is a very serious one. More and more professors have been reduced to abject poverty and bankruptcy. They have been leading a life of semi-starvation for some time, and the day is rapidly approaching when they will find themselves unable to exist.

Under such circumstances, it is impossible to expect the professors to devote their time and energy to research work and teaching.

Professors Fired

Another headache for the professors is that, with the intensification of China's internal political struggle, the institutions of higher learning have become battlefields for rival political parties. Many universities, and particularly those in Shanghai, have become yamen. The presidents of these universities conduct themselves like notorious government bureaucrats. As the result of the student strikes last May, hundreds of popular professors of high academic attainments were "fired" in Shanghai. Most professors who have no "background" or "personal pull" live in constant fear of losing their "rice bowls."

The teaching profession is a dignified and respectable one. One wonders how it will be possible for the professors to live a dignified and respectable life when confronted with inevitable starvation.

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Britain Takes The Long Way

Walter Briggs

SINGAPORE is a city of about 1,000,000 persons on an island of about 200 square miles sitting just above the equator. It lies at the end of the Malayan peninsula, which wriggles down hundreds of miles from Asia's continental mass. Singapore is a mixture of Malaya, China, India and Britain.

Britain is there as your ship, slipping between myriad islands, approaches Singapore. You see it in the huge stone buildings facing the waterfront. China is there in a huge billboard advertising, in Chinese characters and English letters, "Tiger Balm," the all-purpose Chinese medicine. China and the others, too, are there in the sampans which fester at your ship's side, waiting to carry you and your luggage ashore.

Singapore—then Singapura—and Malaya centuries ago belonged to a Javanese empire stretching far to the north. Like other Asiatic countries, Singapore and Malaya eventually beckoned to Europeans. Portugal, Spain, Holland and Britain competed for them.

Empire Builder

Sir Stamford Raffles, Britain's visionary empire-builder, first recognized Singapore's possibilities. Raffles wanted the Indies for Britain, but his homeland, anxious to avoid trouble with Holland, forced him to withdraw from Batavia. His eyes lit on Singapore. In 1819 he occupied it. Holland nominally held Singapore, too, but in 1824 traded it for a British station in Sumatra. The Dutch have regretted their decision over since.

Lying athwart the trade lines to the Far East, Singapore became Southeast Asia's principal port for commerce and shipping. Later it became a naval base on which, incidentally, the Dutch placed too much reliance.

The British soon drew colonial title to all Malaya. But for decades they concentrated on Singapore, Malacca and a few other trading centers. They interfered little internally, allowing the sultans considerable autonomy.

As time passed, however, the British began to realize Malaya's wealth. They penetrated more. Residents were stationed in the sultannates. The sultans were made to accept the residents' advice except on native customs and religion.

The British prodded the Sultans on education and boosted the literacy rate to about 25 percent, a step above Indo-China's and Indonesia's. They invested in public health and other social services. They built roads and railways and initiated a post and telegraph system and other accouterments of modern civilization.

Malaya is hot and gets lots of rain. It is cut by a lengthwise mountain range, with coastal plains on each side. Three-fifths of the country is virgin forest and jungle.

The Malays, who probably migrated from South China, are akin to the peoples of Indonesia and the Philippines. And just as slow-moving. Like most Southeast Asians they live in thatched houses, often on stilts, and eat with their fingers. Rice is their basic course.

They wear the sarong, walk barefooted and do as little as possible. Most men wear either a turban or a fez. Mohammedanism is strictly practiced, with its strong family customs. Many Malays make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

British Tutelage

Only driblets from the flood waters of nationalism coursing across Asia have reached Malaya and Singapore. Thus Colonial Britain can attempt there what the Dutch and French say they want to do in their Far Eastern territories: to evolve native self-government under tutelage.

In taking this long way the British are meeting only limited resistance. In Indonesia and Indo-China the resistance is with guns, here it is with words and peaceful demonstrations. Where there the resistance is rooted in the masses, here it stems from a vociferous minority.

There was little agitation for independence in Malaya before World War II. Most inhabitants truly appreciated British "law and order." The Japanese stirred them a bit with independence talk. Since the surrender, revolutionary enthusiasts have further stimulated this feeling. The main propellent, however, has been the British. They are trying to keep step with the times. They are pushing the people along toward independence.

Colonial Liberalism

The British can leisurely evolve an independent government in Singapore and Malaya because they are generally trusted. When Governor General Malcolm MacDonald declares, "Our.... supreme aim.... is government of the peoples of Malaya for the peoples of Malaya by the peoples of Malaya," he is believed. Britain's new-found colonial liberalism, as demonstrated in India and Burma, is largely responsible. Its historically acceptable administration there contributes.

When prominent British officials talk of freedom "in 25 years," most of the literate population offers no dissent. Except for a small minority, the peoples don't want to be hurried.

An important reason, aside from the faith in the British, is the delicate balance of population there. Malays are a minority in their own land. The Malays are slightly outnumbered by the Chinese, while 800,000 Indians are also included in Malaya's and Singapore's combined population of about 6,000,000.

For decades these races have lived together harmoniously. As a result of recent conversations regarding new constitutions, however, the various races—principally Malay and Chinese—have begun to think in terms of race nationalism.

Pleading for "tolerance and cooperation," MacDonald, on the theme of "interracial suspicions," broadcast:

"They existed....in Palestine. They existed in India. What has happened in those places can happen here...."

The Malays fear that if the franchise is freely extended to the Chinese, most of whom are transients, control of legislatures will pass to these immigrants. Furthermore, immigration, now restricted, would be opened wide, they declare.

The British, regarding the Malays as the peninsula's indigenous population, have favored them in latest constitutional drafts. They have made

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citizenship—and voting—privileges rather difficult for non-Malays to attain.

However, the vigorous and virile Chinese declare that, having contributed much to Malaya's development and prosperity, they are entitled to an important role in the country's government. Whether or not they are transients is little matter, they assert.

To emphasize their feelings on this point, Chinese elements staged a one-day strike in mid-fall, 1947. Called a "hartal" (after an Indian expression for similar sitdowns against the British), this resulted in an almost complete shutdown of business in Singapore. It was also a quiet day throughout most of Malaya.

Joining with the Chinese were comparatively small Malayan groups which objected to separation of Singapore from the rest of Malaya in the new constitution and which argued that full self-government should come immediately.

However, this peaceful demonstration seemed actually to be the work of only a tiny minority. Most, when asked, did not understand what the lay-off was all about. When questioned, one said it was for Princess Elizabeth's wedding, while another thought it was against income tax proposals.

The constitutional proposals call for a council and legislature to govern the four federated and five unfederated sultanates, plus the settlements other than Singapore. A British High Commissioner will have the final say over this Federation of Malaya. For Singapore, there will be a sort of junior edition of the Federation.

These new governments are taking effect this year. The British talk hopefully of holding first elections "within three years."

• • •

POLITICS, it is said, makes strange bedfellows—of which none could be stranger than one bedfull in Malaya.

The Malayan constitutional controversy brought to the same side the Malayan Communist Party, kingpin of the left-wing groups, and the Chinese Chambers of Commerce, the voice of the right. The Communists and the Chambers jointly were chiefly responsible for the Malaya-wide hartal. The anomalous partnership continues.

Both seek wider citizenship franchise for Malaya's Chinese and inclusion of Singapore in the Malayan Federation. On a third point, however, their fusion is contradictory: the Reds want immediate, rather than gradually-evolved, self-government, while the Chambers think the whole scheme should be postponed for several years while being given more exhaustive study.

The leading Chinese conservative spokesman told me, in fact, that "most Chinese" would prefer the colonial *status quo*, which guarantees "law and order," under which business can be profitably pursued, to the new British-sponsored Union and Singapore constitutions, which relieve Britain of some of its authority.

The *Straits Times*, middle-of-the road Singapore English-language daily, said that the Communists were "the keenest brains in Malayan politics, thoroughly trained in their own ideology and revolutionary technique . . ."

At Kuala Lumpur, capital of the Malayan Union, I visited the Communist Party headquarters to meet one of its leaders. A round-faced, smooth-shaven Cantonese of about 35, he had recently returned from a conference of British Empire Communists in London. He spoke suavely and forcefully, fully meeting the *Straits Times* appraisal.

Replying to questioning, the Communist denied that his party had any ties with Moscow, but said that it exchanged correspondence with other Communists within the Empire. No Malayan Communist had ever visited Moscow, he declared, nor had any of the Party's Chinese leaders or members come from China's Red areas.

However, pictures of Stalin, Lenin, Marx and Chinese Red leaders Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh peered down from the walls. And sitting with us, apparently unable to speak or understand English, was a tall, handsome Eurasian who talked Mandarin (used in the North China Red Areas) rather than South China dialects heard almost exclusively here. The Eurasian was born of a Chinese father and British mother in Jamaica, it was explained.

Prominently displayed on the wall was the "Party's Present Platform." It was so mild that if applied to the United Kingdom it would doubtlessly be scorned by Laborites as reactionary. In it was nothing about nationalization or collectivization. The platform, in fact, read like the party-sponsored "People's Constitutional proposals," which the *Straits Times* declared to be "the only right goal for Malaya." The paper's and the British attitude, however, is that progress toward that goal should not be rushed.

"Our big interest now is getting democracy into Malaya," the Communist said. "Those other things we hope will come later."

The Communists were carrying on the Party's work with contributions from within Malaya, he said, "some from men who cannot afford to be identified with the party." He bemoaned the Party's lack of adequate means to establish its own newspaper or conduct classes in political theory.

The Party for several years served as the spearhead for the labor movement in a country, in the words of the *Straits Times*, "in which labor badly needed a spearhead." The Party found fertile ground for labor organization—and party adherents—among the low-paid masses. Recently, however, the party handed over its labor organizing function to the Federation of Trade Unions.

The Party continues to serve as adviser to various unions, the Communist leader told me, but "only when requested." He denied that the party ran the Federation. (Many observers believe, however, that the Federation, while of great value to Malaya's workers, is a Communist front).

While vigorously participating in constitutional squabbles, the Communists in Malaya have treated Britain rather mildly, compared with Communists in various other countries. The British administration, in turn, has recognized the legality of the Party, which before the war was underground, and, while watching it closely, has done nothing to interfere with it.

For one thing, as a police official admitted to me, the authorities are too busy attempting to quell post-war lawlessness to get tough with the Communists. Furthermore, more than one high British official retains a nostalgic fondness for the Communists. During the war the Communists were the backbone of the guerrilla movement, and helped the interned Europeans as best they could.

Some authorities fear, however, that arms the Allies dropped to the guerrillas may now be resting in Communist caches, awaiting the day when Malayan Communists resort to arms, as Communists have elsewhere.

And despite the queer fusion of Communists and Chinese capitalists on the constitutional issue, some of the latter genuinely fear their bedfellows.

"A big reason I fear the departure of the British," their leading spokesman said, "is that the Communists undoubtedly would take over the country."

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China's Postwar Economy

Dr. H. D. Fong

(This is a summarized translation of an article by Dr. H. D. Fong, Director, China Institute of Economics, which was printed in THE ECONOMIC CRITIC, January 3, 1948.—EDITOR).

IN this article I will try my best to analyze China's economy since VJ Day on the basis of concrete statistical data available. I don't propose to discuss the reasons why China's national economy has come to the present deplorable state, for these reasons are obvious. It is the Civil War and inflation that must be held responsible for the existing economic mess. Nor shall I discuss the ways and means of improving the present economic conditions. The ways and means are all very simple: immediate peace and termination of inflation. The interest of this article will center around analyzing China's price problem, and production under runaway inflation. But in order to obtain a clear picture of the whole situation it is necessary to make comparison with pre-war or war-time figures.

We can diagnose the case of a sick man by his temperature. Likewise the economic crisis of a country may be ascertained by an analysis of the prices of commodities. It need hardly be said that currency and commodity prices are closely connected with one another. Since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the Government has depended entirely upon issuing more banknotes for financing the war. This policy did not undergo the slightest change after VJ Day. On the contrary, as the result of the extension of the Civil War, inflation has become more alarming and serious. China's note issue increased from CNC$1,400,000,000 before the Sino-Japanese War to CNC$1,000,000,000,000 in 1945, CNC$3,500,000,000,000 in 1946, and CNC$25,000,000,000,000 by the end of 1947, representing an increase of 18,000 times. The rate of increase rose from 2.5 times in 1946 to seven times in 1947.

In the course of inflation, one of the most serious problems presented was the increased speed of the circulation of currency. This increased speed had greatly boosted up commodity prices. In the first year after VJ Day, the rate of increase in commodity prices was almost the same as the rate of increase of note issue. But in the first eight months of the second year after VJ Day, the rate of increase in commodity prices exceeded the rate of increase in note issue by 24 per cent. During the period from July, 1937 to August, 1947, the note issue increased only 10,000 times but the commodity prices rose on an average of 34,000 times. Roughly speaking, the speed of the circulation of currency in August of 1947 was 3.4 times.

The following table shows a comparison between price index and note issue during the past 10 years.

Month		Wholesale price index	Amount of note issue
July	1937	1.30	1.40
Dec.	1945	2,127.00	1,000.00
Dec.	1946	7,507.00	3,500.00
August	1947	34,392.00	13,000.00

It must be clearly realized that the effect of inflation on commodity prices varied in different places. Because of the absence of a modern nation-wide transportation system, China's national economy before the war was a combination of local economics. Each region constituted an economic unit. The war-time economic blockade and the disruption of communications and transportation in the post-war period tended to strengthen the influence of regional economy. The existence of regional economies may be seen in the unevenness in the rise of commodity prices in different places. The present pay-scale for government employees varies according to geographical location. If we consider the average price index in August, 1947, as 100, it will be noted that the price index in the regions which were near the war zone exceeded this average, while that in the regions in the rear fell short. Just look at the following table:

Locality	Price index
Taiyuan	165
Tsingtao	154
Hofei	134
Peiping	121
Kweiyang	40
Kunming	64
Chungking	65
Kweilin	85
Chengtu	86
Shanghai	106
Canton	107
Hankow	110

The rise in prices for different commodities also was remarkable. According to the wholesale price index compiled by the China Institute of Economic Research, in the first week of December, 1947, the prices of chemicals exceeded the 1936 average by 310,000 times, metals by 290,000 times and foodstuffs by 77,000 times. The difference between chemicals and foodstuffs was really alarming: 230,000 times.

In this connection, it is necessary to point out that the jump in commodity prices in December, 1947, was unprecedented. According to the data of the China Institute of Economic Research, the wholesale price index in Shanghai for June, 1946, was 4,628. It rose to 7,958 in December. In other words, the rise in prices during the second half of 1946 was only 70 percent.

The year 1947 witnessed three price upheavals. In February, prices jumped by 90 percent. In May, they registered another increase of 77 percent. In October, the increase was about 75 per cent. The general price index in Shanghai increased from 7,958 in December, 1946, to 123,761 in the first week of December, 1947. This means to say that prices advanced by approximately 15 times within a brief period of less than 12 months. If prices continue to go up at the present rate, the whole picture will be gloomy indeed.

China's runaway inflation has greatly handicapped production. The prolongation of the fighting between the government forces and the Chinese communists has also affected production.

First, let's see how the situation stands with agricultural production.

According to statistics compiled by the Central Agricultural Experimental Station, China's grain produce (including potatoes) totaled 137,900,000 tons, in pre-war years. In 1946, an increase of 2.5 percent was reported. In 1947, an increase of 3.5 percent was expected. But during the war, the increase was on an average of 4.2 percent, that is from 76,600,000 tons in 1937 to 79,800,000 tons in 1945. In other words, the production in 1947 represented a decline as compared with the war-time years.

According to the figures released for publication by the Farmers' Bank of China, the production of

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tea, wood oil and eggs last year recorded a sharp drop. Last year's production of tea totaled only 66,000 tons, representing a decline of 82 percent as compared with the annual average for 1933-37. Tung oil dropped from 120,000 tons in the pre-war years to 60,000 tons last year.

The production of raw cotton last year was still far below the pre-war level.

Year	Production of raw cotton in Occupied China
1936	457,000 tons
1941	202,000 „
1942	300,000 „
1945	129,000 „

In Free China, there were 130,000 tons in 1945. In 1947, the production throughout the country was expected to reach 65 percent of the pre-war level.

Mining production also reported a drastic decline, and this is particularly true of the mines in Manchuria and the North. Coal output dropped from 41,000,000 cubic tons in 1936. The 1946 output was only 45 per cent of the 1936 level. Detailed figures by geographical distribution are given below:

Taiwan	1,000,000 cubic tons
China Proper .	13,000,000 „ „
Manchuria ...	4,200,000 „ „

The output of coal for the first six months of 1947 was estimated at 7,600,000 cubic tons. The estimate for the whole year showed a decline by 18 percent as compared with 1946. According to available official figures, there has been a falling-off tendency in the coal output in 1947.

Month	Coal output
January	1,090,000 cubic tons
March	1,360,000 „ „
May	1,360,000 „ „
June	1,160,000 „ „

The sharp drop in coal production in Manchuria was attributed to the intensification of internal fighting there.

In pre-war years, China Proper produced 1,840,000 tons of iron ores. In 1946, only 15,000 tons were produced. Manchuria used to produced on an average of 1,520,000 tons of iron ores before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. But in 1946 there was none.

Wolfram, antimony and tin are produced in China Proper and are monopolized by the National Resources Commission of the Chinese Government. In 1936, there was produced 9,800 tons of wolfram, 14,000 tons of antimony and 13,000 tons of tin. In 1946, the production of wolfram was reported to be only 22 percent of the pre-war output. Antimony was only three percent of the pre-war level, and tin was only 15 percent.

The production of electric power by the end of June, 1947, was said to be only 48 percent of the pre-war level, with only 1,290,000 kilowatts.

A careful study of the above picture will disclose that both agricultural and industrial production since the termination of the Sino-Japanese war has been below the pre-war level.

NIGHTMARE IN CHENGCHOW

VAN SHIH-CHING

(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review)

A case of corruption involving some CNC$150,000,000 spent for the calcium oxide needed in building fortifications around Chengchow was being severely criticized in the local papers. Trouble was breaking out between the local military police and the National Army over the occupation of a "sublime" lodging house. The city itself was being threatened by the Red general, Chen Yi, on the march from Tai-kang across the flooded areas of eastern Honan, while we in Chengchow were living in constant fear of being attacked at any time by the Reds, who are penetrating the delta between the southern Lunghai and eastern Peiping-Hankow Railroad lines, so close to our city.

National Army troops had been flooding into Chengchow, and the restaurants, hotels, theaters and schools were full of the noise of occupation. This night seemed different somehow. Shops closed early, and the bustle and crowding on the streets had a strained quality. People stopped to stare at the strangers, and then turned and went hurriedly on their own ways. Even late at night, the air of the city was not quiet, for everywhere could be heard the incessant knocking on doors of the soldiers, as they made their house-to-house examinations or searched for lodging for those arriving late.

Silent Night

Next morning in our neighbors houses there were many soldiers, most of them so weary from their two days' walk following battle with the Communists that they remained stretched on the floors sleeping. Only the guardsmen stood by the doors in attitudes of attention. Looking at their red cheeks and neat cotton uniforms, it was hard for us to believe them to be the bad ones we imagined.

The sun was brighter than ever that day, for everyone seemed to know that nothing would happen for a little time yet.

At about 4 p.m. tanks racketed down the streets and out of the city. The soldiers who had come the night before pulled themselves together and left hurriedly, without having time even to eat the food that had been prepared for them.

Night came again, and this time it was truly silent. Nothing could be heard from far or near except for the occasional, unexpected tolling of the church bell. One felt then as if one were sitting at the bedside of a deathly sick friend. It was so silent and so full of quiet waiting. Perhaps, though, it was a silence of healthy sleep—one that would mean the patient's eventual recovery. Actually, that night was the turning point of the situation, for we learned the next morning that the Reds had penetrated to a point eight miles southeast of the airport. If they had not been repulsed, our city would surely have fallen.

Uncomfortable Day

When morning came, Chengchow began to mobilize. The voluntary police were called out, ambulance units were organized, and those people who had been disciplined in military service were sent outside the city to act as watchmen and intelligencers. It was a day of high sandstorm and severe cold—a most uncomfortable day. Troops were opening fire to the east and south. The first things to be disturbed by the coming battle were the prices of commodities. Rice soared from $6,000 to $12,000 a catty; coal from $600 to $1,000. There were many problems to be faced, the most urgent being the provisioning of those who had withdrawn from the city and the question of what to do with refugees. Should those who were in the city already be sent out? Should those demanding entrance be refused? All was confusion, and there was much talk and planning.

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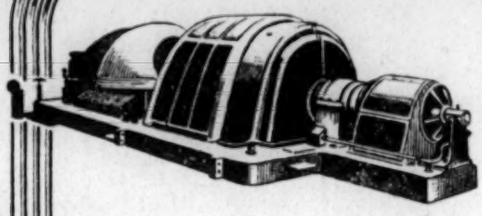

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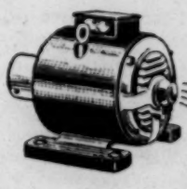

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China Aid Versus Europe Aid

J. R. Kaim

DURING the past few weeks we have been privileged to hear and read a variety of suggestions as to the amounts needed for stabilizing China's economy. We have been told that aid to China is more important than aid to Europe, or that aid to Europe is more important than aid to China. We have also been given to understand that both these issues are endangered by America's own inflation, and that neither one nor the other plan should be looked at from an economic point of view; they originate in, and are mapped out for, political reasons only. The more frequent such and similar claims, however, the more necessary is it to look at the whole problem from a mere economic and social point of view.

While no one can doubt that any American economic aid today is automatically connected with the general political world situation, one must remember—and here in China too—that originally all planning was purely economic. It started during the war when the Bretton Woods conference, attended by all Allies, was clearly acknowledged as an economic task and enterprise. In those days, economists throughout the world foresaw most of the difficulties to be expected during the first post-war decade, but they could not foresee the political developments and the tremendous economic obstacles caused by them. Today, no doubt, any foreign aid program has a political flavor, but this does not mean that in the whole scheme politics are paramount.

Today, the three issues of aid to China, aid to Europe and the threat of American inflation are inseparable. Prices in America continue to rise, and many products are scarce. This is partly caused by the fact that America's exports far exceed her imports, and that her tremendous exports to both Europe and East Asia have been possible only because of previous American aid or credit to the recipient countries.

Neither Europe nor East Asia can continue to buy American goods. Both are extremely short of dollars, and the object of any further American aid program should be to ensure a flow of exports to the two continents that will enable them to restore their productive capacities.

However, Uncle Sam cannot simply manufacture money out of thin air. If exports from America, no matter what their form, continue on their present scale, or increase as the aid programs would have it, they will certainly tend to add greatly to American inflationary pressures.

To relieve such pressures, the United States, as frequently urged by her economists, must either further increase her production or restrict domestic consumption. As to the first alternative, in a country already with virtually full employment, there can be little hope for drastic production increases even if the entire production of raw materials were available for private industrial purposes, which it is not. The government is stockpiling various materials, and those necessary for the greater production of basic essential commodities, such as fibers, chemicals, metals, are not freely available to private industry.

As to the restriction of domestic demand, President Truman's statement on the "wastefulness" of the American people shows that along this line something may be accomplished. The President, it will be remembered, asked for powers to enable him to control, and that means limit, domestic demand.

The dilemma can be put squarely before the American people thus: either there can be no aid to foreign countries or, if aid is to be given, there must be a return to domestic controls. There is no longer any denying of the fact that

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America cannot afford both complete economic freedom and large air programs. Any aid, be it granted to Europe or to China, tacitly impliest a lessening of economic freedom in America itself.

On the other hand, from the standpoint of normal pre-war consumption, the western hemisphere has been, and still is, only a comparatively small portion of the world. Even if Europe is divided into two camps, of which only one will be Marshall-aided, the number of producers and consumers in the Marshall camp is greater than the population of the whole of North America. This does not include the populations of the British, French, Belgian and Dutch colonies which will be indirectly included in the scheme.

To these more than 200,000,000 people must be added the Chinese population, a tremendous number of people whose needs directly or indirectly, increase the pressure on America's economy.

To say, "All we want is money," as one hears on all sides, is certainly nonsense from any economic point of view. Money is valuable only if it can be exchanged for goods or services, and the bulk of such goods and services can be supplied only by America. The day is gone when a loan was to be considered merely from the standpoint of principal, interest and security. Today, all kinds of obscure implications must be taken into consideration. The American taxpayer is supposed to be not only a banker; he is supposed to give up some of his most valued economic freedoms in order to help restore the international equilibrium. That in so doing, he is highly interested in knowing whether the amounts involved will achieve this and exactly who his partners in the game he is financing will be, is to be expected.

Although the two world aid plans may be liberally flavored with political spice, they are still fundamentally economic. It is a pity, that this fact is so frequently overlooked, be it intentionally or not, and that political factors alone are considered. The aid programs should be judged at all times as great economic problems and as more than a small part of the Russian-American cold war.

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The Week's Business

DURING the seven days from January 21 to January 27, business in Shanghai continued to be erratic as the week before. Still, the money market was easier and the share market not quite as irregular. Traders, on the other hand, were impressed by the Customs Foreign Trade Returns for November, 1947, which showed an almost 200 percent increase in the value of exports.

Referring to such agreeable news, traders explained that the major part of the shipments recorded had probably been exported not by private firms but by government-controlled concerns. Meanwhile, there was news from New York to the effect that the US Customs Department has started conducting investigations into the price of Chinese tung oil which, according to claims published by US tung oil producers, has been dumped on the American market at prices below production cost. As the bulk of Chinese tung oil is shipped by or on behalf of a semi-official concern, the outcome of the Department's investigation will be of the highest interest to local private would-be exporters.

During the seven days under review, money continued to be tight but on the whole the money market showed some improvements. The private, black interest rate which, by the middle of January had been between 27 and 30 percent, came down to 24 percent per month. Easier money, had little opportunity to work on either the stock or the commodity markets as, with the approaching customary day of settlement, namely "Chinese New Year," holders of funds were eagerly preparing to settle old obligations.

Most sectors of the commodity market, therefore, saw heavy reselling which, particularly in the textile markets sometimes led to price declines. On the cotton yarn market, prices occasionally dropped by between CNC$1,000,000 and CNC$2,000,000 during one session.

Commodity markets, however, have been impressed not only by the approach of "Chinese New Year" but also by what is considered a growing tendency toward State interference. Such a tendency was seen in various decisions made by The Central Trust which, for instance, recently decided to appoint a number of traders as "agents to collect Chinese export products." Information published by the Information Bureau of the Government Banks in this respect said that once the above measure is approved by the Executive Yuan, the Export Development Department of the Export-Import Board will "call upon the Central Trust to form a joint committee to supervise these government purchasing agents."

Trading quarters, both Chinese and foreign, made it clear that according to their views there are already so many departments, boards and offices engaged in foreign trade transactions that any further interference may harm rather than improve the general trade situation.

Meanwhile, the number of dishonored checks returned by the Bankers' Clearing House, during the week ending January 24, totalled 25,217, with a face value of CNC-440,283,269,907, a decrease by CNC-$408,000,000,000 compared with the week before. A set of new measures is said to have been mapped out by the Finance Control Bureau with a view to controlling the issuance of "rubber checks." Businessmen doubt that under prevailing conditions any actual improvement can be reached. They even have the impression that the above-mentioned decline in the face value of dishonored checks was more than could be expected, but they also believe that the decline in business transactions may have been the chief reason.

On January 27, the Central Bank announced a new dollar rate depreciating the national dollar to CNC-$119,500 per one US dollar, i.e. increasing the cover rate by CNC$6,000. Sterling area rates remained unchanged.

Compared with the new officially announced depreciation of the legal tender, gains recorded on the Stock Exchange were comparatively favorable as can be grasped from the table below. In fact, between the the end of January, 1947, and the end of this month, the official dollar rate has increased by about 3,000 percent, while 10 leading Shanghai shares have gained by an average of more than 7,000 percent.

Quotations

Stocks	Jan. 21 CNC$	Jan. 28 CNC$
Wing On Textiles	700	761
Mayar Silk	1,035	1,280
Commercial Press	310	380
Wing On Co.	260	300
Ewo Cotton	540,000	570,000
Bond C	74,000	64,000

Commodities	Jan. 21 CNC$	Jan. 28 CNC$
White Rice, first	1,355,000	1,450,000
Wheat Flour	545,000	640,000
Peanut Oil	2,930,000	3,450,000
Raw Silk "C"	90,000,000	94,000,000
Jap. Rayon	89,000,000	86,500,000
Cotton Yarn 42	56,800,000	58,000,000
Cotton Yarn 20	34,300,000	34,500,000
Caustic Soda	52,500,000	52,000,000
Koo Pun Soap	1,775,000	1,780,000

The Review's English Lesson — XVI

AN UNUSUAL STYLE OF WRITING

MOST of the our Lessons to date have presented short passages written in journalistic style. In today's Lesson we have parts of an informal article, "Is Reviewing Fun?" by Virgil Thomson, that appeared in *Harper's* Magazine, November, 1947. The author is one of the leading music critics in the US, and his job is to listen to and criticize in his newspaper all the important music performances in New York City during the year.

There are two reasons for choosing parts of this article for study. First, we see how a skillful writer presents a difficult subject in a fresh and stimulating way by the mixture of simple and not-so-simple words and expressions, and by great variety in sentence structure. Second, we see how he brings out the main difference to the listener of "live" music and of music played on phonograph records (留聲機唱片). In this comparison you will notice how he emphasizes the main difference and therefore leaves the reader with a distinct contrast in his mind.

By a study of Mr. Thomson's sharp, clear expression on an almost abstract subject, our classroom readers will find a model for expressing themselves in their own writing, whether in Chinese or English.

"The pleasantest work a music critic finds is reviewing that which is in some way novel, a new piece, a new artist, or an old work brought back to vigor. It makes no difference whether one's opinion is favorable or not. **A good rave and a good razz** (1), to use **the trade terms** (2), are equally agreeable to write and equally readable. What is important is that some kind of fresh quality, good or bad, be present, some significant variation from standard routine. That which is thoroughly familiar, no matter how excellent, cannot easily be listened to. The mind will wander. Nor written about, for the words will not come. The potato is an excellent vegetable, but its commoner preparations have little **to offer** (3) **the cooking columns** (4). For the consumer, as for the writer, only that which is a little bit **out of the ordinary** (5) is memorable. Concert attendance for reviewing purposes is not therefore so much a matter of listening TO music as of listening FOR certain things in it.

"**Reviewing records on the radio** (6) requires a different consideration. For the most part, only standard artists and organizations **get recorded** (7). Only standard works, too, for that matter. And because of limitations inevitable to the microphone, to manufacture, and to reception or **playback equipment** (8), no fair judgment can be made of an unfamiliar work, though pleasure can often be had listening to it. Judging music from these **processed versions** (9) is like judging a beauty contest from photographs.

"....Just as **in-the-flesh music-making** (10) is interesting chiefly for its variations on familiar sound-patterns, radio and records are interesting, on the contrary, in proportion to these same patterns. The former avoids death by remaining in some way spontaneous. The latter achieve lifelikeness by avoiding the spontaneous. That is why one cannot really judge music from its processed forms. One can only judge the processing. What one hears may be fascinating or beautiful, but it is not the real thing. Its chief value to any lover of music is the foretaste or the reminder that it presents. It is a symbol of music, not the thing itself—**a pin-up girl** (11), a dream life."

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1. "A strong expression of like and dislike".
2. "The expressions commonly used by those in the same occupation".
3. "To give to" or "to attract".
4. "The columns in the newspapers that tell housewives how to prepare foods in interesting or different ways".
5. "Unusual".
6. "Writing reviews or criticisms of music on phonograph records that are broadcast on radio programs".
7. "Get their musical productions cut or made up on phonograph records".
8. "Equipment that plays a phonograph record, generally a phonograph or similar machine attached to a radio receiver."
9. "Manufactured productions", i.e., phonograph records.
10. "A musical performance by living people".
11. "A picture of a beautiful girl, usually unknown to the person who uses pins or nails to hang her picture in a place where it can be easily seen".

What U.S. Papers Say . . .

THE situation in Indonesia and the trade aspect of the proposed European recovery program were discussed in American newspapers last week.

* * *

Indonesia

THE *Christian Science Monitor* warned against undue optimism about the situation in Indonesia. "The Indonesian affair moves slowly forward. The truce between the two parties is not a cause for high enthusiasm . . . There have been too many truces followed by renewed outbreaks, failures by the Republic to control their own hotheads, and Dutch 'police action' which turned out to be highly useful to the Dutch in retaining the rights they had previously agreed to surrender.

"The latest truce has the advantage that it was reached under the auspices of the United Nations committee of good offices. It has been followed by an agreement for a plebiscite, by which the 40,000,000 Indonesians will—in theory at least—decide for themselves whether they wish to join a separate Indonesian Republic or the recently Dutch-formed United States of Indonesia. . .

"Though the agreement calls for a vote within six months to a year of adoption, the Dutch already have announced that it is unlikely to take place in 1948. This looks suspiciously like predetermined slowness of action in a situation where every delay helps the Dutch to consolidate their present position. This would further embitter nationalist sentiment and drive it to excess.

"Yet when all is said and done, the agreement, however short of ideal, is better than continued fighting. This one holds the added possibility of settling the hotly debated question of Indonesian leadership by an appeal to the people themselves. Let it be pushed forward with all possible speed and impartiality."

The *Washington Star* stated: "After 11 weeks of painstaking negotiations, the good offices committee of the Security Council has scored a promising success, persuading the Netherlands and the Indonesian Republic to sign a truce in the months-long warfare between them. If both sides now live up to the agreement, they ought to be able—with the help of the United Nations—to solve the complex political and economic differences and work out a lasting peace settlement . . .

"The good-offices committee had to overcome a deeply embittered situation in effecting the present truce—a fact that makes the success seem particularly noteworthy. Certainly, if the Dutch and Indonesians have been able to put aside their bitterness to the extent of calling a halt to shooting, they must be anxious for peace . . .

"In entering upon a new agreement, they have pledged themselves to a set of principles calculated to bring about permanent understanding, guaranteeing a free and independent United States of Indonesia that would cooperate closely with the Netherlands.

"Such understanding would be of immense value in promoting political and economic stability of Southeast Asia. Given good faith and cooperative spirit on the part of both the Dutch and Indonesians, it can be realized; the truce can be developed into an enduring and mutually advantageous peace arrangement. The Security Council should offer all the help it can to that end. Success here would give a much needed boost to the prestige of the United Nations, and set a wholesome example for other strife-ridden areas of the world."

* * *

Europe

EDITORIAL opinion was divided on the potential trade benefits of the proposed European recovery program.

The *Christian Science Monitor* said: "From the point of view of American business—the free enterprise point of view—the European recovery program makes basic good sense. For, as the Secretary of State pointed out, it aims to correct conditions which have led nations to depend heavily on state trading . . . the use of government agencies and government controls in international trade . . . At a time when the material cost of the program to the United States is being so thoroughly scrutinized, the economic benefits of that program to the United States should also be noted—and let Moscow papers copy if they wish."

The *Washington Evening Star*, however, discounted the "business aspect as of relatively minor importance," but said: "It may reasonably be assumed that our own domestic economy—which now is oiled by a heavy flow of exports—would be hard hit if Congress failed to enact the European recovery program. It would be hard hit in terms of the foreign commerce that supports a substantial percentage of our overall employment. It would be hard hit because our best customers abroad—the 16 nations working with us—need large scale help from us to get back on their feet and continue trading with us."

Commenting on the espousal of the program in a Philadelphia speech by John McCloy, president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the *Wall Street Journal*, although expressing respect for McCloy as a businessman and banker, was "surprised" at his assertion that Western Europe represents a sound investment. "He makes the strikingly novel observation that the main argument in support of our aiding Europe lies not in her weakness but in her strength."

Who's Who in China

V. K. WELLINGTON KOO, Chinese Ambassador to the USA; born at Shanghai, 1888, studied at the Anglo-Chinese College, Shanghai, 1899-1900; Yu Tsai School, 1900-01 and St. John's University, 1901-04; studied at Cook

(顧維鈞)

V. K. Wellington Koo

Academy, America, 1904-05; graduated from Columbia University with B.A. degree in 1908; M.A. degree, 1909; Ph.D., 1912; LL.D. (Causa Honoris) from Yale, 1916; LL.D. (Causa Honoris), 1917; elected to the American Society of International Law and the American Political Science Association; elected to the Nacoms, the Blue Pencil and Delta Epsilon Rho Societies in 1911; recipient of the Philolescean Literary Prize; the Columbia-Cornell Debating Medal; member of the varsity debating team, 1906-07; editor of the Columbia Spectator, The Chinese Students' Monthly, The Chinese Students' Annual and manager of The Columbian and The Columbia Monthly; Minister to U.S.A., 1915; attended Paris Peace Conference as China's Plenipotentiary, and later as head of the Chinese Delegation, 1919; Chinese delegate to the Assembly and China's representative on the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva, 1920-22; Chinese Minister to Great Britain, 1921; Plenipotentiary to Washington Conference, 1921-22; chairman of the Financial Commission, 1922; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1922-24; Peking; Finance Minister, 1926; Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1926-27; Chinese assessor to the Commission of Inquiry of the League of Nations, 1932; Chinese Minister to France, 1932-35; Chinese Ambassador to France, 1936-41; Chinese representative on the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva, 1932-34; delegate to the World Monetary and Economic Conference, 1933, London; delegate to Conference for Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, at Geneva, 1933; chief delegate to Assemblies of League of Nations, 1933-36, and 1938; president of League Council (96th Session) 1921 and 1937; chief delegate to Brussels Conference, 1937; special Envoy for the Accession of King Albert of Belgium; special envoy to Coronation of His Holiness, Pius XII; chief delegate to the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations; acting chairman of the Chinese Delegation to the San Francisco Conference; chairman of the Chinese Delegation to the Preparatory Commission, and the First Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations at London and New York, 1945-1946; Chinese Ambassador to Great Britain, 1941-1946; Chinese Ambassador to USA since 1946; address: Chinese Embassy, Washington.

What Chinese Papers Say

BRITISH foreign policy and the Legislative Yuan elections drew considerable editorial comment in Chinese newspapers last week. The *Ta Kung Pao* expressed concern over Japan's staging a comeback.

* * *

British Foreign Policy

COMMENTING on Foreign Secretary Bevin's speech, the *Sin Wen Pao* stressed that British foreign policy has abandoned its middle course in favor of still closer cooperation with the United States.

"Recently, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs Ernest Bevin made a long speech on British foreign policy, in which he advocated the organization of a Union of Western Europe, with a view to preventing the domination of Europe by any one nation. Mr. Bevin in his speech openly accused Soviet Russia of playing power politics. His violent anti-Soviet attitude indicates that British foreign policy has begun to follow a new course.

"During the past year, some people in the world have expressed the hope that Britain will maintain her middle-of-the-road policy so that she may serve as a bridge between the United States and Soviet Russia. Now it seems to us that due to Bevin's speech, this bridge is about to collapse.

"If a Union of Western Europe is formed and goes ahead with the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan for aid to Europe, Soviet Russia in her propaganda will undoubtedly exaggerate the threat from the West, and the more intense the propaganda campaign becomes, the more serious the conflict will be, so that the world crisis will certainly develop to a stage where it will be past cure.

"However, there are reasons why Britain has announced her new foreign policy. World War II impoverished Britain economically, and her only hope lies in the expansion of her foreign trade. However, Soviet Russia has built a strong iron curtain in Eastern Europe. Now if the Communists should gain control of the nations in Western Europe, Britain's foreign trade will be destroyed by the Russians.

"We regret very much that the British Government has now openly abandoned its middle-of-the-road course, for the action by the British Government will divide the world into two hostile blocs. There is now less possibility of peace and compromise being achieved. At the same time we also regret the uncooperative attitude which Soviet Russia has adopted at many of the past international conferences. The world today certainly cannot stand a Third World War. While we hope that Britain will not lightly give up her middle course, we also hope that Soviet Russia will change her attitude toward other countries."

The *Lih Pao*, however, thought differently. "Since Prime Minister Attlee made a speech criticizing Soviet Russia, it has been generally expected that British foreign policy will be radically changed. The other day, Foreign Secretary Bevin announced his foreign policy in the House of Commons, in which he advocated a union of Western European countries against Soviet Russia. Britain and France have now decided to extend the 50-year treaty of alliance to include Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, so that it will become a five-nation alliance. This is the so-called 'Western European bloc.' This action on the part of Britain may be necessary from the point of view of Britain's national security. But after all, it is contrary to the United Nations Charter to replace collective security with regional security. From the point of view of world peace, this is certainly not a means of eliminating war. On the contrary, it is a step toward war.

"Whither British foreign policy? So far as Britain's internal politics and economy are concerned, her progressive viewpoint and determination are praiseworthy, but her foreign policy as indicated by recent tendencies and facts, has raised doubts in the people's minds. The Kowloon Incident has especially proved that British foreign policy has not yet been divorced from her out-of-date imperialism. This is a misfortune, not only to Britain herself, but to the world as well."

* * *

Legislative Elections

THE *Sin Wen Pao* said: "In evaluating the elections of Legislative Yuan members our first impression is that democracy is really closely linked up with capitalism and that economic power is one of the main factors in an election campaign. The distribution of electioneering leaflets required money. If democracy in its true form is so pecuniary in character, then such democracy is contrary to the stand of the vast majority of the people.

"The elections have convinced us of the importance of political parties. Electioneering is invariably the activity of political parties, and individuals are not able to do much. However, in the elections that took place last year, the political parties have not yet demonstrated their usefulness as they ought to have done. The political parties may nominate candidates and issue orders, but one can be sure that if the candidates do not work hard themselves, they will fail tragically.

"From now on, any political party which does not strengthen its organization and enforce strict party discipline will meet with reverses. Party members must understand that they should not sacrifice the interest of the party for their private gains. After the conclusion of the elections of the National Assembly, a group of so-called party-nominated candidates and independent candidates made quite a lot of fuss about their failure to get elected. This is really a tragic page in the history of China's political parties.

"So far as the technical side of the administration of the recent elections is concerned, the general comment is that the major portion of the electorate were not enthusiastic about the elections. While the voters should be held responsible for this, the confusion and the attempts on the part of the lower organizations to stage-manage the elections is really deplorable. For instance, a large number of qualified voters did not get their identification cards and were therefore barred from the polls.

"We should like to ask: Who kept these identification cards? Why were they kept? Were the identification cards used by someone else? It is hoped that those in charge of the elections will make a thorough investigation into the case."

The *Chen Yen Pao* deplored the boycott of the elections by educated people. "The election of the Legislative Yuan was the first important event of the year. However, it is sincerely to be regretted that the educated people displayed utter indifference to the election.

"It is said that some of the candidates running for election spent several hundred million dollars for electioneering purposes. At the present time when commodity prices are soaring, we wonder how many people can afford such expenses. This must be considered contrary to the austerity rules.

"After eight years of war against the Japs and two years of Communist rebellion, the people are unable to earn a living. So they have no political ambition. Nor are they interested in political activity. Therefore, it is impossible to make then participate enthusiastically in the elections.

* * *

Japan

THE *Ta Kung Pao* sounded a warning with regard to the situation in Japan.

"An enemy who has just been beaten and who still hates us is rising again. Moreover, he is being openly helped by someone else. If we sound a warning at this time, it does not mean that we are afraid. Rather, we are strong enough to defend ourselves.

"The Japanese Zaibatsu and Japanese militarism, after having been defeated, are rapidly staging a comeback. In the eyes of American military leaders, Japan has long ago ceased to be an enemy who should be punished, but is an American bastion . . . The Zaibatsu have been exonerated. More than that, the former Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces in China, who committed flagrant crimes, and a diplomat who is well-known for his close connections with the militarists, are going to be set free.

"With US Far Eastern policy as it is, there cannot be the slightest doubt that Japan is rising again."

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

China Story

THE INDEFINITE RIVER, *by Preston Schoyer. Published by Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1947. 325 pp. US$3. Reviewed by Walter Briggs.*

SCHOYER'S second book is as fine a fiction picture of a segment of China as I have read since Malraux's "Man's Fate." And perhaps for the same reason. Malraux himself was part of the revolutionary scene of which he wrote. Schoyer writes of the life of an American agent inside the Japanese lines. He had lived that role.

Schoyer is best at descriptive writing. He proved his ability in that respect in "The Foreigners," the story of an American school teacher in China, published in 1942. His landscape, street scene, profile have a photographic clarity, yet their perspective changes constantly to blend with the story's changing moods.

Take his opening paragraph: "It was a cold, wet day in November, 1945, the cold and wet having an excessively miserable quality peculiar to Shanghai. It scarcely mattered if it rained, though from time to time fitful gusts did sweep across the city, for the raw dampness in the air seemed to leak up from the streets at the shivering population as effectively as the rain beat down."

Or: " . . It had the deathly emptiness of a countryside just before the invading tide of the enemy swept in. The hills around him themselves like a tide, an army moving by, ghosts of the Chinese dead in slow retreat. . . . "

Schoyer's is a simple story, simply told. It is of a US Army captain who attempts, in the author's words, to follow "the straight and certain road of his integrity," while the world about him "disintegrated into filth and rubbish."

The hero has come from his quiet New England town lawyer's life. He is faced with the complex machinations in a Chinese village wrestled over by the Nationalists, the Communists and the Japanese. He must fight the red-tape of both the U.S. and the Nationalist armies, the officious arrogance of his commanding officer at Chungking, the wavering of his Chinese helpers. Sometimes it seems that he must collapse under the weight of his problems.

Interwoven through the story is his love for a Chinese girl. Their relationship is complicated by a suspicion, nurtured by others, that she is a Communist agent. The scenes between them might have been maudlin, but are written with dignity and restraint. This aspect of the novel is weakened a bit, however, because Schoyer rushes his climax. He should have devoted more space to this, and winnowed out some of the unnecessary explanation.

Withal, the climax is exceedingly moving. The book in entirety is a refreshing experience. Whether the reviewer would feel so enthusiastic if the book were laid, say, in Bulgaria or Honduras is impossible to say. But for those with a strong feeling for China this is a book not to be missed.

Schoyer examines China's political groups and issues in the course of "The Indefinite River." But he emerges with no prescription nor endorsement. He clearly feels that the Communists have improved the well-being of their people. But his characters are wary of Communist ruthlessness and totalitarianism. Similarly, the characters flinch from these same evils on the Kuomintang side. Still, he finds good Chinese on this side. Perhaps, like many of us, Schoyer feels that it is too early to choose.

Trade Terms

DICTIONARY OF FOREIGN TRADE, *by Frank Henius. Published by Prentice Hall, New York, 1947. pp. 559, US$12.50. Reviewed by J. R. Kaim.*

"Foreign traders have their own professional language," says Frank Henius in his Foreword, and when he endeavored to collect, explain, and interpret thousands of words and trade terms in one very compact volume, he certainly embarked upon a very practical and necessary work. To all those who are engaged in foreign trade and to all those who would like to know more about commerce and its language than the two words profit and loss, Mr. Henius' book will doubtless be a great help.

Not only merchants, but modern bankers and well-trained lawyers, to say nothing of professional economists, will find the Dictionary practical, valuable and exact. Whether they want to know the meaning of gunny bag or what the term octroi stands for, or explanations and details as to responsibilities and liabilities of carrier and ship, they will find all they need in Mr. Henius' Dictionary.

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